

**LANGUAGE IN LORAIN: WHEN, WHERE, AND WHY ADULT
BILINGUALS USE SPANISH**

A Senior Honors Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for graduation
with research distinction in Spanish in the undergraduate
colleges of The Ohio State University

by

Katherine J. Riestenberg

The Ohio State University
June 2007

Project Adviser: Professor Terrell A. Morgan, Department of Spanish and Portuguese

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the use of Spanish and English among Hispanic adults in Lorain, Ohio. A study was conducted with the main purpose of identifying the contexts in which Spanish and English are used according to variables of “domain” (i.e. *Family, Friendship, Religion, Education, Employment, and Marketplace*). The investigation also had a secondary purpose of uncovering possible links between socio-demographic factors and language use. In order to collect data, a ninety-item self-report questionnaire was distributed to Hispanic bilinguals residing in Lorain. Data from fifty questionnaires were entered into the Statistical Program for the Social Sciences (SPSS) for analysis. The analysis included comparing means of language use variables for different domains as well as running cross-tabulations of socio-demographic variables against language use variables. The results indicated that Spanish use is most frequent in the domain of *Family* and least frequent in the domain of *Employment*. Factors such as age and occupation seem to affect Spanish language use in general. These outcomes point to two possible implications. The first suggests that a language shift from Spanish to English is occurring, meaning Spanish language use overall is diminishing. This occurrence mirrors the findings of other language use studies conducted in the Midwest. A second possible implication is that Lorain’s bilingual community is approaching a state of diglossia in which one language (English) is related to literacy, prestige, and formality and another (Spanish) is used primarily in situations of intimacy, solidarity, and informality.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	2
List of Tables, Maps, and Figures.....	4
1.0 Introduction.....	6
2.0 Context and Literature Review.....	6
2.1 Studies of Language Use in the Midwest.....	7
2.2 Studies of Spanish in Lorain.....	8
3.0 Approaches for Studying Language Use.....	9
3.1 Individual Identity.....	10
3.2 Community Values.....	11
3.3 Social Domains.....	12
3.4 Socio-Demographic Characteristics.....	12
3.5 Conclusions about Approaches for Studying Language Use.....	13
4.0 The Community: Lorain, Ohio.....	13
4.1 Social Demographics of Lorain.....	15
4.2 History of the Hispanic Community in Lorain.....	18
5.0 Methodology.....	21
5.1 The Participants.....	21
5.2 Data Collection.....	23
6.0 Analysis of Data.....	23
6.1 Domain Analysis.....	23
6.2 Socio-Demographic Characteristics and Language Use.....	29
6.3 Other Patterns of Language Use.....	36
7.0 Discussion and Conclusions.....	38
7.1 When, Where, and Why Adult Bilinguals Use Spanish.....	39
7.2 Language Maintenance, Language Shift, and Diglossia.....	39
Appendix A: Photos of	41
Appendix B: The Questionnaire (English Version).....	43
Appendix C: The Questionnaire (Spanish Version).....	49
Appendix D: Chart Showing Coding for Each Item in Part IV of the Questionnaire.....	55
References.....	57

TABLES

2.1 Non-English Home Languages in Ohio.....	7
4.1 Primary Employers in Lorain, Ohio in 2005.....	15
4.2-4.8 Social Demographics of Lorain Compared with National Averages.....	15-16
4.9 Hispanic or Latino Origin in Lorain.....	17
5.1-5.5 Social Demographics of Hispanics or Latinos in Lorain Compared with Sample Population.....	22
6.1 Greenfield's Domain's and Congruent Situations.....	24
6.2 Examples from Part III of the Questionnaire.....	25
6.2 Analysis of Domains.....	25
6.3 Examples from Part IV of the Questionnaire.....	26
6.4 Coding of Variables for Part IV of the Questionnaire.....	27
6.5 Analysis of Congruent Items.....	28
6.6 Analysis of Incongruent Items.....	28
6.7 Excepted Items.....	29
6.8 Language Use for Reading and Writing	
6.9 Language(s) of Schooling	

MAPS

4.1 Lorain and Surrounding Area.....	14
4.2 Hispanics and Latinos in Ohio.....	17
4.3 Puerto Rico.....	19
4.4 The City of Lorain.....	20

FIGURES

6.1 Scale of Codes Variables.....	25
6.2-6.4 Age, Gender, and Overall Language Use.....	30-31
6.5-6.6 Marital Status and Overall Language Use.....	32
6.7-6.8 Type of Occupation and Overall Language Use.....	33
6.9-6.10 Annual Household Income and Overall Language Use.....	34
6.11-6.12 Level of Education and Overall Language Use.....	35

6.13 First Language of Parents and Overall Language Use.....	37
6.14 First Language of Spouse and Overall Language Use.....	37
6.15 Attitudes about Spanish and Overall Language Use.....	38

1.0 INTRODUCTION

At first glance, the city of Lorain, Ohio is an unlikely place to be the host of cultural and linguistic diversity. However, a closer look reveals the reasons behind Lorain's regional renown as "the international city." The names of churches, restaurants, and shops attest to the city's presence of Hungarian, Slovenian, Polish, and Mexican immigrants. Adding to this intriguing mix is large group of Puerto Rican migrants who now call Lorain home.

Lorain provides a glimpse of how the process of cultural and linguistic contact can operate. Two different language varieties in particular, Spanish and English, have been in contact in the community for over half a century. This paper sheds light on one aspect of this complex situation by exploring what happens when many people who are proficient in more than one language live together in a community. What are the reasons for choosing one variety over another when "you" and "I" speak both?

This paper discusses relevant research of Spanish language in the Midwestern region of the United States and in Lorain specifically. It gives an overview of possible approaches for studying language use and explains why the current study chooses two of these approaches (domain analysis and socio-demographic comparison). It provides a substantial description of Lorain and the history of its Hispanic/Latino community. It also explains the methodology for collecting data, the process for analyzing variables, and the meaningful conclusions presented by the research.

2.0 CONTEXT AND LITERATURE REVIEW

In the United States of America, a continued flow of immigrants into the country also means an influx of diverse language varieties, yet English remains dominant with 81 percent of the population speaking only English. In the Midwestern state of Ohio, this number is 94 percent (American Community Survey, 2005). Therefore, when immigrants bring their home language to the United States (or more specifically, to Ohio) it has the status of a minority language which becomes involved in a tension with the majority language of English. Sociologists and linguists interested in this tension often conduct quantitative investigations of language use in minority language communities.

However, quantitative language use studies have not traditionally been conducted in the Midwest of the United States. One reason for this may be that minority language speakers in this region are primarily recent immigrants. They often form small communities within larger cities where English is by far dominant. For the five largest cities in Ohio, 12.1 percent or less of the population speak a language other than English at home (Table 2.1) (American Community Survey, 2005).

Table 2.1 Non-English Home Languages in Ohio

<i>City</i>	<i>Percent Speaking Non-English Language at Home</i>
Columbus	12.1
Cleveland	10.9
Cincinnati	6.8
Toledo	6.7
Akron	5.5

This lack of bilingualism means that immigrants living in Ohio's larger cities experience many language constraints. Generally, they speak their home language to other people who know the language and speak English to people who know only English. The element of language choice in this type of community is minimal. Lorain is unique because a large Hispanic/Latino community has been present in the city for over fifty years. Many members of this community are fully bilingual in English and Spanish. These characteristics make Lorain particularly suited for a quantitative study of language use because the goal is to understand when, where, and why speakers choose one language variety over another.

2.1 Studies of Language Use in the Midwest

González and Wheritt (1990) conducted one of few investigations of Spanish language use in the Midwest in the tiny city of West Liberty, Iowa. West Liberty has a population of just over 3,300, and more than 40 percent of residents are of Hispanic or Latino origin (U.S. Census, 2000). In 1963 the city experienced an influx of Spanish speakers as laborers were recruited to work for the Louis Rich Foods company which had opened there. Most came from Mexico, though some had been living in Texas. Using brief interviews of thirty subjects ages 16-66, the researchers asked participants what language they used in a variety of situations. The data were

then organized according to social domain (see Section 3.3) for analysis. The results showed that for more informal and familiar situations such as in church, at home, and at parties, participants reported a significant preference for Spanish over English. In situations which the researchers considered “outside of Mexican culture,” participants reported a greater use of English or a mix of Spanish and English. Subjects of the West Liberty study were also asked to rate their language use with family members of different ages. The participants reported using Spanish 100 percent of the time with their grandparents, but considerably less with their parents and even less with their siblings and children. The researchers concluded that participants who had more schooling in the United States tended to use more English. Employment at the Louis Rich Foods plant with other Mexicans and Mexican-Americans encouraged maintenance of Spanish (González & Wherrit, 1990).

Stone (1987) was also interested in the growing Hispanic populations of the Midwest. He conducted a study of language choice among Mexican-American high school students in St. Paul, Minnesota. Students were much more likely to speak Spanish with parents and grandparents than with siblings and younger relatives. Stone also observed a tendency to read and write in English. Sixty-one percent of the St. Paul sample claimed to read nothing in Spanish. He concluded that a shift to English was “well underway” and predicted an acceleration of Spanish loss, despite an apparent attitudinal attachment to the Spanish language (Stone, 1987).

2.2 Studies of Spanish in Lorain

A significant recent study of Spanish in Lorain is Ramos Pellicia’s (2004) study of cross-generational phonological variation. The project explored dialectal differences between Puerto Rican Spanish and Mexican Spanish across three generations of Hispanics living in Lorain. One hundred four subjects filled out written questionnaires and participated in face-to-face interviews and speech recordings. She concluded that Lorain Puerto Rican Spanish preserved many of the phonological qualities of Spanish in Puerto Rico. However, more recent generations showed some influence from Mexican-American Spanish and American English (Ramos-Pellicia, 2004).

Morgan (2007) has also contributed significantly to the study of Spanish in Ohio. As part of a field report aimed at providing a dialectological picture of Ohio Spanish, he conducted digital

video recordings of free conversation by (primarily Puerto Rican) adults living in Lorain and the equally well-established Mexican(-American) community near Toledo, Ohio. He compared the Spanish of these communities to that of immigrants living in cities such as Columbus and Dayton. He concluded that in these larger metropolitan areas “an amorphous mix of Spanish dialects has given way, in less than a decade, to an immigrant overlay with a decidedly Mexican flavor” (Morgan, 2007).

While these two studies have provided important information about Spanish dialectology in Lorain, they did not comprehensively explore when, where, or why Spanish is used. Ramos-Pellicia (2004) did use questionnaires which asked the participants about their socio-demographic background, language use in certain contexts, and attitudes about Spanish and English in order to provide a general context for the phonological study. However, these data have not been analyzed within a language use or language choice framework, such as a domain analysis. The information provided by the current study begins to fill this gap while building upon data already available about Spanish in Lorain. The hope is that future researchers will have the convenient capability of investigating how language use in Lorain has changed over time: Is the community experiencing a shift to English? Is Spanish being maintained? Or has the community reached a state of language stability in which English is used in some social contexts and Spanish is used in others? The current study provides a “snapshot” of language use in Lorain that will be necessary in order to answer these questions.

3.0 APPROACHES FOR STUDYING LANGUAGE USE

An investigation of language choice can be approached with either a micro or a macro perspective. Discourse analyses, for example, can describe code-switching—actual instances when a bilingual speaker interchanges language varieties within one discourse. This type of analysis is able to examine such intricacies as the phonology of borrowed words. Studies such as these clearly take place at a precise, micro level. The current investigation approaches language use investigation with a macro outlook. The aim is to understand a speaker’s language usage in general and the patterns that exist among a community of people who are bilingual¹.

Researchers have suggested various approaches for studying language use at a macro level. For the purposes of this paper, they are organized as individual identity, community values, social domains, and socio-demographic characteristics. The rest of this section outlines all of these determinants, though the present study focuses only on the final two.

3.1 Individual Identity

Some sociolinguists believe that individual identity is the most important factor that determines language choice, even for monolingual speakers. Individual identity takes into consideration factors such as personality, beliefs, role perceptions, and interests. These traits may be the result of personal experience or they may be hereditary. The following examples illustrate how individual identity might affect language choice:

Personality: Personality traits can certainly affect language choice. Someone who is outgoing and self-confident would be more likely to use a language in which he or she is not fully proficient because of an unconcern for the possible negative judgments of proficient speakers of that language.

Beliefs: Here we might examine language attitudes. If a speaker believes a certain language variety or dialect to be more prestigious, advantageous, or enjoyable, he or she is more likely to use that variety (Hudson, 1996).

Role Perceptions: This refers to what an individual sees as his or her role within a particular discourse. Such perceptions are simplest to understand if we consider a conversation between just two speakers. Is the situation formal or informal? Is the interlocutor of a higher or lower status than myself? Is my relationship with the interlocutor one of solidarity (a close friend) or of distance (a total stranger)? The answers to these questions determine the speaker's perception of his or her role.

(1) For the purposes of this study, "bilingual" means someone who uses two different language varieties in one or more typical life situations. More specifically, anyone who indicated in Parts III and/or IV of the survey instrument that he or she uses both Spanish and English at one time or another was considered bilingual. He or she need not be fully proficient in both languages nor feel confident about his or her language abilities.
--

Interests: Our interests clearly influence how we choose to speak. A student studying a certain language, for example, might try to practice the language as often as possible in order to gain proficiency.

Hudson (1996) supports the notion that language is “in” the individual saying this must be so “because each individual is unique, because individuals use language so as to locate themselves in a multi-dimensional social space” (p. 12). In this sense, a speaker’s every utterance can be seen as an act of constructing or reinforcing his or her identity (Hudson, 1996).

3.2 Community Values

The claim that individuality determines language choice is sometimes countered with the notion that community values govern decisions about language. Historical and political forces often drive the creation of values regarding language within a certain speech community². In some communities, there exists a tremendous amount of agreement on linguistic norms. The utterances of speakers participating in such communities show a high degree of similarity and overlap. Some societies use a highly-standardized written language for civic operations while there may be a myriad of other language varieties spoken in other contexts within the boundaries of the community.

Gal (1979) examined how community values affect language in Austria. The example has been effectively summarized by Yeh, Chan, & Chen (2004):

In Austria, German, the high language and the national language, is associated with the more “Austrian” and urban values, while Hungarian, the low language and the traditional ingroup language, represents the traditional peasant values (p. 81).

<p>(2) Speech community is a term credited to sociolinguist William Labov. It describes a generally autonomous group of people who use language in a unique, mutually accepted way among themselves. The exact definition of a speech community is debated (Hudson 1996).</p>

It is important to note that even for those who believe that community values determine language choice, individual identity plays a key role. Ultimately, the individual decides if he or she will adhere to the values in place.

3.3 Social Domains

Over four decades ago, Fishman (1971, 1972) proposed the concept of *domain* as a means of specifying the patterns of language use which occur in bilingual and multilingual communities. Breitborde (1983) describes domains as “the spheres of activity into which social life is, in its widest sense, organized and in terms of which members of society conceptualize their own life activities” (p. 18). A domain-based analysis differs from approaches focused on individual identity or community values, though it incorporates tenets of both. A study of language use according to domain primarily considers the places, role-relationships, and topics which contextualize a discourse. It acknowledges that one language or language variety may be habitually used in certain social domains while not in others. Family, Friendship, Faith and Religion, Education, Employment, and Shop or Marketplace are often appropriate labels of social domains.

3.4 Socio-Demographic Characteristics

A final approach explores how socio-demographic characteristics affect language choice in a minority language community. This method uses statistical data about human population and its dynamics, structure, and change to explain language usage. Researchers will often examine information about age, gender, level of education, socioeconomic status, and religion in order to uncover possible relationships between these factors and language use. It is important to distinguish between factors of individual identity and demographic factors. For example, someone who is married might share with his or her spouse a belief that they should raise their child in a bilingual environment. He or she might also use a certain language variety to reinforce the role of “spouse.” Demographically speaking however, “married” describes someone who falls into the category of being married. Members of a community might be married, single, separated, divorced, or widowed. According to Stevens (1992), socio-demographic factors affect language use because they are related to the number and kind of opportunities minority language

speakers have to speak English rather than their home language. A socio-demographic analysis is particularly advantageous for business marketers and public policy makers.

3.5 Conclusions about Approaches for Studying Language Use

Every day we make choices about how to ensure that our speech is appropriate in a given context. Monolingual speakers may alternate between high and low dialects or formal and informal registers. Bilingual and multilingual speakers choose among languages. This paper asks what happens when there are many bilinguals proficient in the same two languages in one community. The research recognizes that one language, Spanish, is effectively a minority language in this setting. In order to study this intriguing situation, the researcher had to choose among the various perspectives outlined above. It is apparent that none of these perspectives is perfectly comprehensive when investigating language use. Some sociolinguists have organized the approaches for studying language choice into dichotomies in order to better explain their intent. One possibility is the *preference* versus *constraint* division. In this case, a constraint might be anything from the interlocutor being monolingual to a language having a social stigma. Preferences are choices which the speaker makes based on his or her own needs and desires (Buda, 1991). This category aligns well with the individual identity approach. However, it is difficult to say whether social domains, for example, should be considered preferences or constraints. Hudson (1996) calls the forces behind language choice *individualism* and *conformity*. He suggests that individuals choose whether or not to conform to the linguistic norms of the community to which they belong. Individuals, he notes, “may be more or less conformist as far as language is concerned” (p. 12). In this sense individualism appears at one end of the language choice spectrum while communal linguistic values are at the other. If this is so, domain analyses and socio-demographic comparisons are not points along the individual—community spectrum, but rather frameworks which hope to explain why a speaker ends up on a certain part of the spectrum in a given context.

4.0 THE COMMUNITY: LORAIN, OHIO

The current study recruited participants who are residents of the city of Lorain, Ohio. Lorain was settled in 1807 on Lake Erie at the mouth of the Black River, about thirty miles west of Cleveland (Map 4.1). The city has enjoyed an active harbor since its founding, and the

construction of two important railroads through Lorain helped modernize and industrialize the area. The 1894 steel mill³ opening is considered one of the most important historical events for Lorain. Not only did its buildings and smokestacks drastically change the city's landscape, but the plant's need for workers led to a population boom in the first half of the twentieth century. Many laborers emigrated from eastern and southern Europe. Steel manufacturing continues to be an important part of the Lorain economy (Fenton, 2000) (Table 4.1). Lorain is now Ohio's tenth largest city with a household population⁴ of 65,476 according to a 2005 American Community Survey.

Map 4.1 Lorain and Surrounding Area

(www.mapquest.com)

Lorain is located on Lake Erie thirty miles west of Cleveland, Ohio.



(3) The original steel mill was the Johnson Steel Rail company, which came to Lorain in 1894. It was then purchased by United States Steel and called the National Tube Company and later, Lorain Tubular Operations. In 1989, US Steel entered a joint venture with Japanese manufacturers Kobe Steel to become USS/Kobe. Republic Technologies International acquired the facility in 1999. This company became Republic Engineered Products in 2003 (www.republicengineered.com).

(4) The 2005 American Community Survey is limited to the household population and excludes the population living in institutions, college dormitories, and other group quarters. The total population of Lorain at the time of the 2000 Census was 68,652. The 2005 American Community Survey information is used for all of the demographic information in this section except for the tables on Race and Hispanic or Latino origin. For these tables, the Census 2000 information was used because of its greater detail and accuracy. Furthermore, the 2005 data for Race and Hispanic/Latino origin do not reflect significant changes from the Census 2000 data.

Table 4.1 Primary Employers in Lorain, Ohio 2005, Office of the Auditor

<i>Employer</i>	<i>Type of activity or business</i>	<i>Employees</i>
Community Health Partners	Health Care	1,865
Ford Motor Company ⁵	Automobile Manufacturing	1,616
Lorain City School District	Education	1,150
Republic Engineered Products	Steel Manufacturing	1,100
City of Lorain	Government	545
United States Steel/Lorain Tubular	Steel Manufacturing	485
Emerson Network Power	Telecommunications	308
The Nord Center	Health Care	215

4.1 Social Demographics of Lorain

In many ways, the socio-demographic characteristics of Lorain are typical of a medium-sized Midwestern city. There is no notable discrepancy between the number of males and the number of females. The proportion of residents over the age of sixty-five is 14%, higher than that of larger cities. Of those ages fifteen and older, nearly half are married. The city's average family income is \$42,820, with 14.9% of families below the poverty level. About 75% of residents over the age of twenty-five have a high school diploma or a higher level of education; 10% have a Bachelor's degree or higher. The following tables compare this demographic information with the national averages (Tables 4.2-4.8) (American Community Survey, 2005).

Tables 4.2-4.8 SOCIAL DEMOGRAPHICS OF LORAIN COMPARED WITH NATIONAL AVERAGES

Table 4.2 Gender

	<i>Percent national average</i>	<i>Percent of Lorain</i>
Male	49.0	47.6
Female	51.0	52.4

Table 4.3 Age

	<i>Percent national average</i>	<i>Percent of Lorain</i>
18 and over	74.6	76.3
65 and over	12.1	13.8

(5) The Ford Motor Company was the city's second largest employer in 2005. In 2002, Ford announced plans to restructure and eliminate 35,000 jobs worldwide. The Lorain Ford plant was officially closed on December 23, 2005. No employees remained at the Lorain plant.

Table 4.4 Poverty Level

	<i>Percent national average</i>	<i>Percent of Lorain</i>
Families below poverty level	10.2	14.9
Individuals below poverty level	13.3	17.6

Table 4.5 Income

	<i>National average</i>	<i>Lorain</i>
Median household income	\$46,242	\$30,936
Median family income	\$55,832	\$42,171
Per capita income	\$25,035	\$19,205

Table 4.6 Marital Status

	<i>Percent of over age 15 national average</i>	<i>Percent of over age 15 in Lorain</i>
Never married	28.1	30.5
Married	53.4	45.6
Separated	2.2	2.4
Widowed	6.0	9.1
Divorced	10.2	12.3

Table 4.7 Level of Education

	<i>Percent of over age 25 national average</i>	<i>Percent of total over age 25 in Lorain</i>
Less than 9 th grade	6.2	5.6
Some high school	9.5	15.4
High school graduate	29.6	39.7
Some college	20.1	23.1
Associate's degree	7.4	6.1
Bachelor's degree	17.2	6.8
Graduate or professional degree	10.0	3.4

Table 4.8 Race

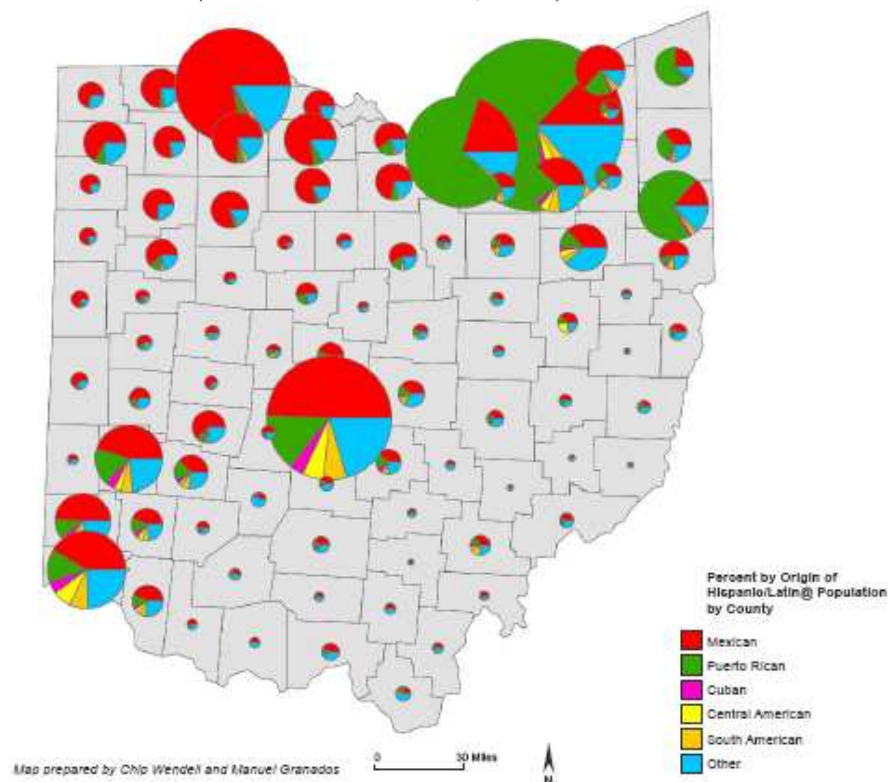
<i>Race</i>	<i>Percent national average</i>	<i>Percent of Lorain</i>
White	75.1	69.7
Black or African American	12.3	15.9
American Indian/Alaska Native	0.9	0.4
Asian	3.6	0.3
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	0.1	0.0
Some other race	5.5	9.6
Two or more races	2.4	4.0

The presence of Lorain's Hispanic/Latino community stands out in a demographic comparison with Ohio cities of a similar size such as Youngstown, Canton, and Springfield. Twenty-one percent of the population of Lorain is Hispanic or Latino. The U.S. Census Bureau considers Hispanic or Latino origin to mean any person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race (Table 4.9 and Map 4.2) (U.S. Census, 2000).

Table 4.9 Hispanic or Latino Origin (of any race)

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent of Hispanic/Latino</i>	<i>Percent of total</i>
Mexican	2,437	16.9	3.5
Puerto Rican	10,536	73.0	15.3
Cuban	64	0.4	0.1
Other Hispanic or Latino	1,401	9.7	2.0
Total Hispanic or Latino in Lorain	14, 438		21.0
Total Hispanic or Latino in Canton, Ohio	1,006		1.2
Total Hispanic or Latino in Youngstown, Ohio	4,282		5.2
Total Hispanic or Latino in Springfield, Ohio	770		1.2

Map 4.2 Hispanics and Latinos in Ohio
(Wendell & Granados, 2005)



4.2 History of the Hispanic community in Lorain

In the 1940s, both the Ford Motor Company and United States Steel/Kobe Steel (USS/Kobe) began hiring large numbers of Puerto Rican males to work at their plants in Lorain. The steel company in particular was looking for individuals who were hardworking yet willing to accept a modest wage. Around this time, the Immigration and Naturalization Service threatened a raid of all non-American workers, so the steel company was wary of continuing to hire Mexican workers to fill this need, as they had previously done (Ramos-Pellicia, 2004). For the steel company, hiring Puerto Ricans made perfect sense. The 1917 Jones Act had declared all persons born in Puerto Rico to be naturalized U.S. citizens. After World War II ended, the Puerto Rican government initiated an industrialization program called Operation Bootstrap which encouraged islanders to migrate to the continental United States to find jobs due to the high unemployment rate burdening the commonwealth (Whalen, 2005).

Many Puerto Ricans from the major cities of San Juan, Ponce, and Mayagüez relocated to New York or other east coast metropolitan areas. Most of those migrating to Lorain, however, were from rural areas because the steel company had traveled to the mountainous region in the center of the island to recruit workers (Map 4.3). In fact, only 3% of the first Puerto Ricans who arrived in Lorain were from San Juan (Ramos-Pellicia, 2004). In many ways, both the *jíbaros* (men from the rural areas of the island) and the steel company were mutually satisfied with the idea of Puerto Ricans migrating to Ohio. The migrants were able to leave behind trouble finding employment and low wages for those who did have jobs. The steel company found the Puerto Rican migrants to be the inexpensive hard workers they had been seeking—many had worked in the coffee and tobacco industries. In addition, Lorain Puerto Ricans who came from the central mountainous region of the island often believed employers from the U.S. looked favorably upon them because of their ethnic composition. With ancestry that was largely European, their lighter skin and hair allowed them to pass for white Americans (Ramos-Pellicia, 2004; Rivera, 2005).

The first Puerto Ricans hired by USS/Kobe arrived in Lorain in 1947. Many workers were single males; some were joined by their families later. By 1953, the Puerto Rican population in Lorain had reportedly grown to 3,677, of whom 57% were male (Ramos-Pellicia, 2004). The total

number of Hispanics (including Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, Cubans, Cuban-Americans, etc.) living in Lorain at the time is unknown.

Map 4.3 Puerto Rico
(www.lonelyplanet.com)

Puerto Rico's larger cities are near the coasts. Most of the Puerto Ricans who migrated to Ohio came from the central, rural region of the commonwealth.



The migrants populated an area called South Lorain, a neighborhood already inhabited by Hungarian, Polish, Slovenian and also Mexican immigrants. Despite the multicultural ambience of South Lorain, the area has historically been impoverished and regarded as isolated from the rest of the city (Map 4.4). As Puerto Ricans were first arriving in Ohio, many of the immigrants formerly living in South Lorain began to move away in search of more desirable housing. For the newly employed steel workers, however, housing in South Lorain was the only option in their budget. They often rented rooms from families who were part of a Mexican community established in Lorain just after World War I. In addition to immigrants who came directly from Mexico, Mexican Americans had come to Lorain from Texas, California, and other parts of the U.S. seeking better employment opportunities. Because no Puerto Rican businesses had yet been established, the recent migrants took advantage of Mexican stores where they could purchase culinary ingredients similar to those they preferred (Ramos-Pellicia, 2004). The two groups also found themselves sharing their faith together. The Catholic Church in particular served as a base

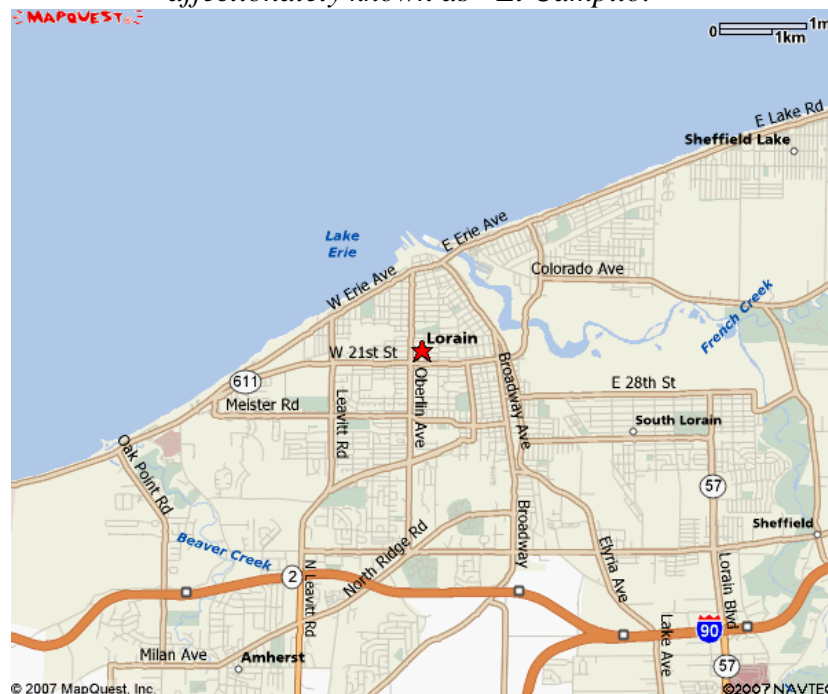
for establishing a cohesive Hispanic community in Lorain. In September of 1952, The Sacred Heart Church/La Parroquia del Sagrado Corazón was founded as an inclusive Latino church with Spanish, English, and bilingual services (Ramos-Pellicia, 2004). Since that time, churches of several different dominations have started to cater to Lorain's Hispanic presence.

South Lorain is chiefly responsible for the city's renown as "the international city," a reputation evident in the names of local churches and restaurants⁶. The neighborhood is still the visible center of the Hispanic community's livelihood. A mural on the side of a building on one of South Lorain's main roads boasts the title "South Lorain Pride" and features the Lorain harbor and the Puerto Rican, United States, and Mexican flags. Another mural spans a wall of the Lorain Metropolitan Housing Authority and features the Puerto Rican, United States, and Pan-African flags (see Appendix A).

Map 4.4 The City of Lorain

(www.mapquest.com)

When Puerto Rican and Mexican laborers began to settle in South Lorain, the area was isolated from the rest of the city by railroad tracks, industrial buildings, and the Black River. It became affectionately known as "El Campito."



(6) Some local churches which exemplify Lorain's multicultural flavor are St. John Ukrainian Catholic Church, Hungarian Reformed Church, International Community Baptist, Our Saviour/Nuestro Salvador Lutheran Church (among many others with Spanish names), and St. Vitus Croatian Church. Many offer bilingual services. Restaurants include the Czech Grill, El Kefón Puertorriqueño, Castillo Grande, and the Mexican and Puerto Rican Restaurant.

5.0 METHODOLOGY

The present study focuses on the use of Spanish and English among adult bilinguals in the city of Lorain, Ohio. When choosing a data collection method, linguists are increasingly aware of the drawbacks of the available options. The basic difficulty is choosing either to record the speech of participants or to gather information about language behavior through an interview or survey instrument. Buda (1991) notes that neither of these methods is ideal:

The problem with the first of these methods is that the presence of a researcher, or even the suspicion that the conversation is being recorded, is usually sufficient to affect spontaneity. Covert recording of speech events is of course possible, but severely limits the range of available speech event environments. Questionnaires, likewise, are inherently unreliable. Subjects may not be fully conscious of their own language usage patterns, or may wish to portray them in a socially or culturally favourable light (para. 4).

Use of a survey instrument is useful, however, to the extent that people's perceptions about their own language use are valuable. In addition, a questionnaire's non-invasive nature and ability to cover a broad scope of topics are an advantage when considering the objectives of this study. For these reasons, the current study collected information about language choice was collected via a self-report questionnaire.

5.1 The Participants

The study sample consisted of adult members of the Hispanic/Latino community of Lorain, Ohio. The researcher requested participation in the study at various public places in Lorain while subjects were engaged in ordinary public life. Most participants were recruited at churches and in commercial spaces that target the Hispanic population. In order to be eligible for the study participants must have reported being age 18 or older, Chicano, Hispanic, and/or Latino,⁷ and residing in Lorain. Participants showed varying degrees of bilingualism, but all must have reported at least one instance of English use and one instance of Spanish use on the survey instrument. Everyone with the required characteristics who wished to participate was invited to do so. The sample size totaled fifty participants. The following charts break down the characteristics of the sample population (Tables 5.1-5.5). When possible, they are compared with the total Hispanic or Latino population in Lorain at the time of the 2000 Census.

(7) See Appendices B and C, question #4 for the manner in which this information was collected. The grouping "Chicano, Hispanic, or Latino" is based on the U.S. Census Bureau's means of asking about Hispanic or Latino origin. In this paper, the terms "Hispanic" and "Latino" are used interchangeably to refer to a community of people who came to the United States from a Spanish-speaking country and their descendants.

**TABLES 5.1-5.5 SOCIAL DEMOGRAPHICS OF HISPANIC/LATINOS IN LORAIN
COMPARED WITH SAMPLE POPULATION**

Table 5.1 Gender

	<i>Percent of total</i>	<i>Percent of sample</i>
Male	50.0	32.0
Female	50.0	68.0

Table 5.2 Level of Education

	<i>Percent of total over 25</i>	<i>Percent of sample over 25</i>
High school graduate or higher	58.0	40.8
Bachelor's degree or higher	4.7	4.0

Table 5.3 Income

	<i>Total Hispanic or Latino</i>	<i>Sample population estimates</i>
Median household income	\$28,683	\$34,500
Percentage of individuals below the poverty level	22.0	16.0

Table 5.4 Age

	<i>Percent of sample</i>
Between 18 and 29	8.0
Between 30 and 39	18.0
Between 40 and 49	18.0
Between 50 and 59	32.0
Between 60 and 69	22.0
Over age 70	2.0

Table 5.5 Non-English Language

	<i>Percent of total Hispanic or Latino over 5</i>	<i>Percent of sample (limited to 18 and over)</i>
Speak a language other than English at home	72.1	83.3

Table 5.6 Type of Occupation

	<i>Percent of total</i>	<i>Percent of sample</i>
Management, professional, and related	20.4	22.0
Service	16.7	14.0
Sales and office	25.7	18.0
Farming, fishing, and forestry	0.6	0.0
Construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations	9.6	2.0
Production, transportation, and material moving	27.0	8.0
Not Reported or Retired		34.0

5.2 Data Collection

Data were collected using a written, ninety-item self-report questionnaire consisting of five sections (see Appendices B and C). Part I asked the participant general socio-demographic questions. Part II requested information about the participant's language use background. Parts III and IV asked specific questions about language use within certain defined contexts. Part V explored the participant's opinions about statements regarding language use in the community. The questionnaire required between fifteen and twenty-five minutes to complete. All subjects received a \$10 gift certificate to a local store or restaurant for their participation. Participants who filled out the questionnaire and did not meet the criteria discussed in the previous section were compensated, but their answers were not entered into the data for analysis. To ensure anonymity, participants did not write their names on the questionnaires. This research project was approved by an Institutional Review Board of The Ohio State University before data were collected.

6.0 ANALYSIS OF DATA

The Statistical Program for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 15.0 was used to manage and analyze data. Responses from fifty total questionnaires were coded and entered into the program. Eighteen invalid questionnaires were omitted from the data because the participant either did not meet the qualifications of the sample population or because at least one page of the questionnaire was left blank. The information gathered from the fifty valid questionnaires was used to answer two central research questions: (1) Does a pattern of language use according to domain exist among adult bilinguals in Lorain? (2) Are there any links between socio-demographic characteristics and language use? The sections that follow explain the answers to these research questions in detail.

6.1 Domain Analysis

A study of language use according to domain demonstrates *when*, *where*, and *about what* speakers of two or more languages use each variety. The domain analysis aspect of the current study was based on Greenfield's (1972) investigation of the language use of Puerto Rican adolescents in New York.⁸ Greenfield determined that the domains in the community were the five listed in the chart below (Table 6.1). The chart shows five situations in which all

components are congruent, that is to say each component (Interlocutor, Place, and Topic) is typical of that domain.

Table 5.1 Greenfield's Domains and Congruent Situations

<i>Domain</i>	<i>Interlocutor</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Topic</i>
Family	Parent	Home	How to be a good son or daughter
Friendship	Friend	Beach	How to play a game
Religion	Priest	Church	How to be a good Christian
Education	Teacher	School	How to solve math problems
Employment	Employer	Workplace	How to do your job the most efficient way

Greenfield's study consisted of two experiments using self-report questionnaires. In the first experiment, the researcher provided two of the three components (Interlocutor, Place, or Topic) and the subject was required to a) complete the third component, and b) indicate the amount of Spanish and English he or she would be likely to use on a five-point scale in which 1= all in Spanish and 5 = all in English. In the second experiment, the subjects were asked to imagine themselves in a situation in which Interlocutor, Place, and Topic were all provided and rate their use of Spanish and English using the same scale as in the previous experiment. For this experiment, the components ranged from all congruent to all incongruent.

The current study also used a self-report questionnaire to gather information about language use. Part III of the questionnaire consisted of (Table 6.2) of thirty-one items which asked the participant to rate his or her use of Spanish and English in a certain context, providing just one component. Possible components were Interlocutor, Setting, or Activity. Participants were instructed to leave any items blank that did not apply to them. Responses to the questions in Part III of the questionnaire were coded and entered into SPSS. A "0" value represented Always Spanish, "1" represented Mostly Spanish, and so on up to "4" which represented Always English (Figure 6.1).

(8) In order to streamline the data collection process, the domain analysis of the present study did not replicate Greenfield's (1972) study in its entirety. The current study borrowed domain divisions and the notions of and congruent/incongruent situations from Greenfield. Some of the questions in Part III of the questionnaire are based on Yeh, Chan, and Cheng (2004) and the addition of the Marketplace domain was noted in Hohenthal (1998).

Situation	(Almost) Always Spanish	Mostly Spanish	Both equally	Mostly English	(Almost) Always English
At home					
At church					
With co-workers					
With my pet(s)					
Using the internet					
Dreaming					

0 1 2 3 4

←————→

(Almost) Always Spanish Mostly Spanish Both Spanish and English Mostly English (Almost) Always English

Table 6.2 Analysis of Domains
In general, participants claimed to use the most Spanish in the domain of Family and the least in the domain of Employment.

25

Part IV of the questionnaire contained eighteen items which asked the participant to rate his or her use of Spanish and English in a specific context when two to three components were provided. Possible components for this section were Interlocutor, Setting, and Topic. If the item did not apply to the participant, he or she was instructed to either choose the answer that would best describe his or her language use if the item did apply, or to leave it blank. Table 6.3 provides examples.

Table 6.3 Part IV of the Questionnaire

Situation	(Almost) Always Spanish	Mostly Spanish	Both equally	Mostly English	(Almost) Always English
Visiting with your mother, asking her for a recipe					
Cleaning your house, discussing buying new furniture with your spouse					
At work, talking to your bilingual boss about a big sports game					
Commenting on the weather with your Latino neighbor in your front yard					
Praying with family before dinner					
Asking a bilingual teacher questions about a project after class					

In order to analyze the information gathered from Part IV, each item was designated a code to signify the level of congruency of the components. For example, if Interlocutor, Place and Topic were all provided and all congruent (typical of the same domain), the item was assigned the code “C.3.3” to represent three congruent components. Items coded with “C” are considered congruent. Those coded with “I” are considered incongruent. “I.3.2” means that two of the three provided components are typical of the same domain, but the third is typical of a different domain. “I.3.0” means that none of the three provided components are typical of the same domain. Items coded with “E” indicate that the wording of the item includes components that are not typical of any of the domains established. An example of an exception is a question which asks which language the participant would use while chatting online (Table 6.7).

(9) In her domain analysis of language in India, Hohenthal (1998) included a domain called “Transactions” to describe a social domain where goods and services are exchanged. The current study refers to this domain as “Marketplace.” Provided components typical of the Marketplace domain include the Setting “grocery store” and the Interlocutor “bank employee.” They do not specify whether the market or shop has a Hispanic/Latino focus.

Any item which indicates that the Interlocutor is “Hispanic or Latino/a” or “Bilingual” is coded “(L)” or “(B)” respectively. The goal of including words that indicated a Hispanic, Latino/a, or bilingual Interlocutor was to allow the participant to imagine the possibility of the Interlocutor having Spanish speaking abilities. An Interlocutor who is a monolingual speaker of English, the community’s dominant language, renders moot the question of language choice. “(L)” or “(B)” labels were used for all provided Interlocutors in Part IV except those typical of the domain of family because it is assumed that participants have a predetermined notion of their particular family members’ Spanish abilities. Table 6.4 shows examples of the coding system (see Appendix D for a chart showing how each item in Part IV was coded).

Table 6.4 Coding of Variables for Part IV of the Questionnaire

<i>Item (Situation)</i>	<i>Components provided</i>	<i>Number of congruent components</i>	<i>Code</i>
Scolding your child	Interlocutor Topic	2	C.2.2
A meeting with a bilingual co-worker discussing how to approach a new assignment	Interlocutor Setting Topic	3	C.3.3 (B)
At work, talking to your bilingual boss about a big sports game	Interlocutor Setting Topic	2	I.3.2 (B)
Discussing religion at lunch with a bilingual co-worker	Interlocutor Setting Topic	0	I.3.0 (B)
Chatting online to a bilingual cousin about a television program	Interlocutor Setting Topic	Exception	E (B)
Chatting with an acquaintance at a Hispanic heritage festival	Interlocutor Place	Exception	E (L)

The analysis of Part IV variables showed that participants believed they would use Spanish the most in situations which provided congruent components typical of the domain of Family. They claimed to use Spanish the least in congruent situations typical of the domain of Education (Table 6.5). When the situation provided was incongruent, a combination of Friendship and Family components encouraged the most Spanish usage. Note that the three situations in which Spanish was believed to be used the most all indicated a “Latino” Interlocutor (Table 6.6). It is

unclear how using the description of “Latino” versus that of “Bilingual” may have affected the participant responses. The chart also shows that while the most Spanish is claimed for the domain of Family in general (Rank of 2.2, Table 6.2), when only the Interlocutor is typical of the Family domain and the setting and topic are typical of the domain of Marketplace, the situation ranks closer to “Mostly English” (Rank of 2.75, Table 6.6). Furthermore, whereas the least Spanish is claimed for the domain of Employment in general (Rank of 3.1, Table 6.2), when Interlocutor and Setting are typical of the Employment domain but the Topic provided was typical of the Friendship domain, the situation shows more Spanish usage (Rank of 2.2, Table 6.6).

Table 6.5 Analysis of Congruent Items

<i>Domain</i>	<i>“L” or “B” Interlocutors</i>	<i>Mean Language Use</i>
Family		2.12
Marketplace	(L)	2.16
Employment	(B)	2.20
Education	(B)	2.53

Table 6.6 Analysis of Incongruent Items

<i>Interlocutor</i>	<i>Setting</i>	<i>Topic</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Friendship (L)	Family	Friendship	2.07
Employment (L)	Employment	Friendship	2.24
Employment (L)	Marketplace	Religion	2.29
Family	Family	Employment	2.35
Family	Family	Religion	2.48
Religion (B)	Religion	Employment or Education	2.51
Family	Marketplace	Marketplace	2.75

Out of all of the items in which participants were asked to rate their language use, the most Spanish was reported for the situation “Giving a Latino stranger on a bus directions to a building.” This item was considered an Exception since its components were not typical of any of the domains established for this study. All items labeled as Exceptions are shown in Table 5.7 along with the means of reported language use for each situation.

Table 6.7 Excepted Items

<i>Interlocutor</i>	<i>Setting</i>	<i>Topic</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Stranger (L)	Bus	Directions	1.40
Acquaintance	Hispanic heritage festival	(Not Provided)	2.00
Cousin (B)	Online	A television program	2.11
Friends (L)	Public	Politics	2.12
Friend (B)	Public	A personal problem	2.20

It is important to note that a domain analysis does not study actual encounters but rather the associations between social life and certain language varieties, as reported by the participants of the study. As Breitborde (1983) notes:

Domains exist...in the minds of community members. The way in which speakers perceive the order in their social lives is an important description of their social reality...Individuals within a community are linked to each other through a variety of social relationships and...the statuses they hold with respect to one another comprise their total social identities—identities which are not compartmentalized such that one status is relevant on one occasion where all others are not. We might see our boss in church, or at home, or in a bar. It is in terms of the abstract associations between locales, statuses, and topics (in terms of which domains are defined) that we make sense—that we experience constraints and perceive alternatives in our behavior in actual social situations (p. 21).

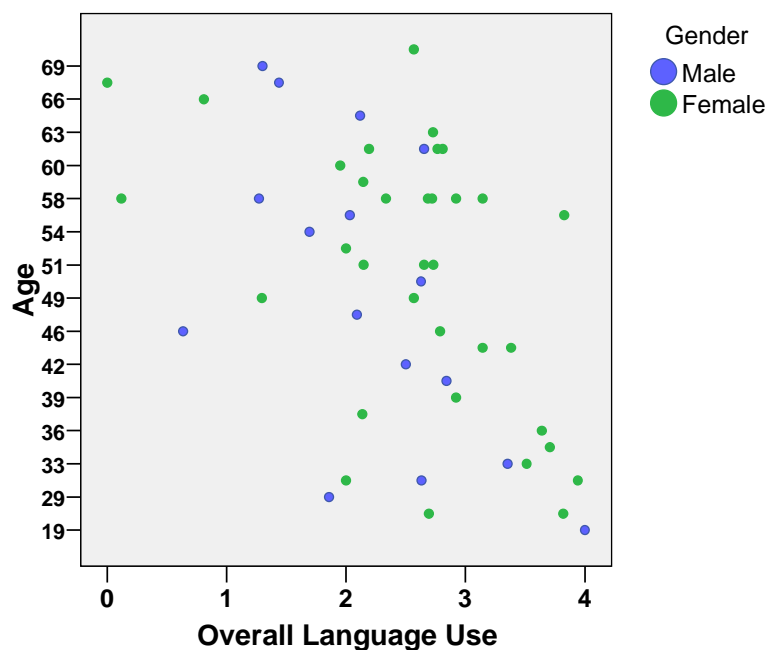
With this in mind, the present domain analysis takes into consideration different levels of social organization ranging from very generalized (when only one component is provided, Table 6.2) to more chaotic (the “Exceptions,” Table 6.7). The information presented by this analysis does not describe language behavior in actual life situations, but rather it shows us how members of the community make sense of the interaction between social life and language behavior.

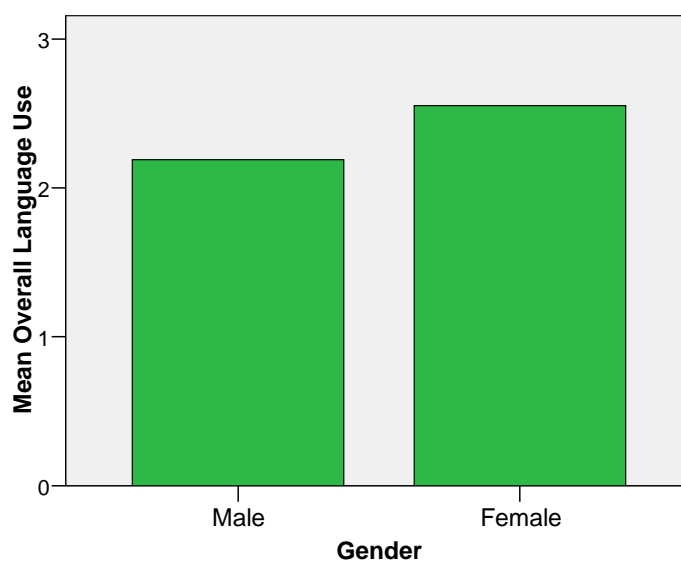
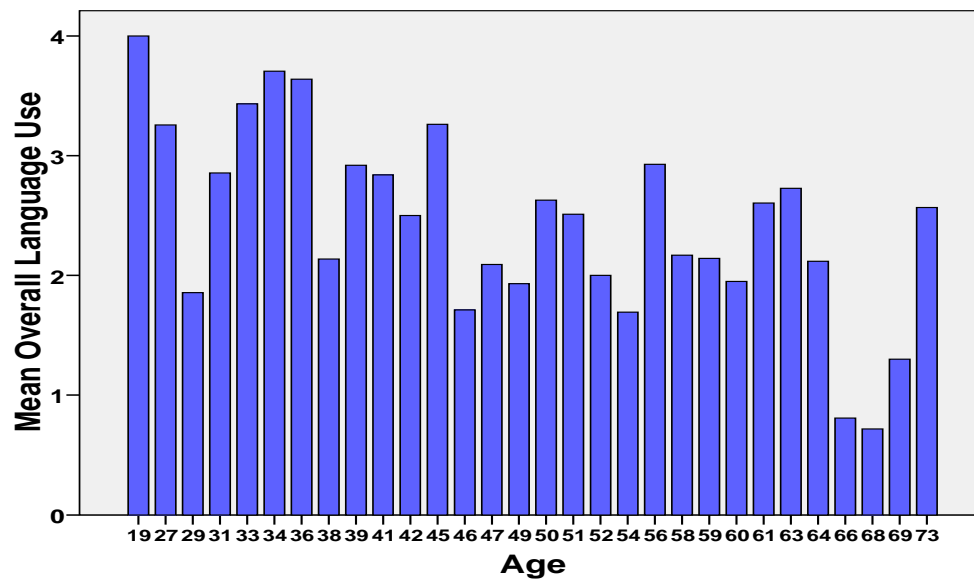
6.2 Socio-Demographic Characteristics and Language Use

The first section of the questionnaire used for this investigation consisted of thirteen items which requested general information about the participant’s socio-demographic characteristics. Responses to each of these items were coded and entered into SPSS 15.0. Each participant’s mean Overall Language Use (OLU) was calculated by finding the average of his or her responses to all forty-nine questions about language use in a social situation (Parts III and IV of the questionnaire). A participant’s OLU ranks somewhere between “0” which equals “(Almost) Always Spanish” and “4” which equals “(Almost) Always English”. The mean OLU for each

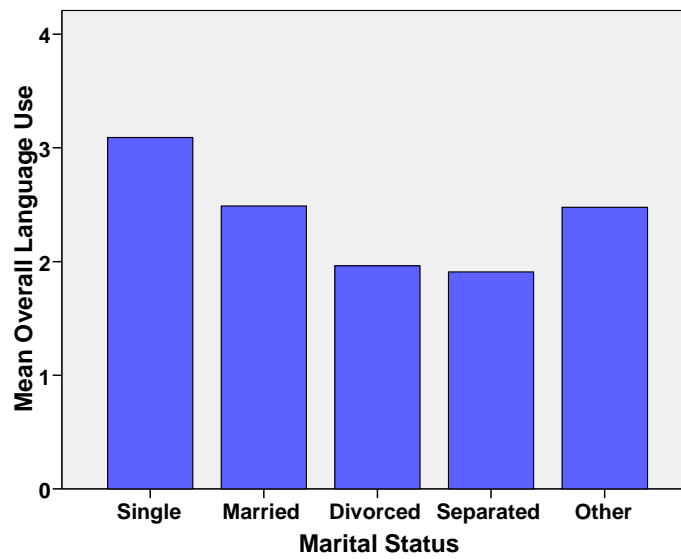
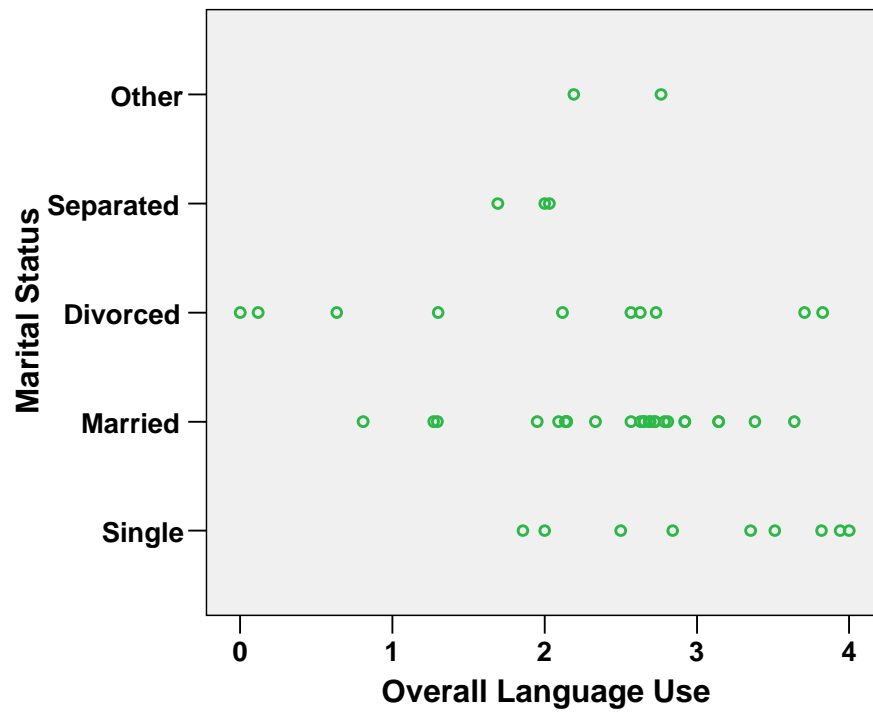
participant was then cross-tabulated with his or her responses to the socio-demographic questions. The results of the cross-tabulations are presented as Scatter Plots (Figures 6.2, 6.5, 6.7, 6.9, and 6.11). All reported correlations are Pearson's correlations calculated with SPSS. In addition, Bar Graphs show the mean OLU for all participants who exhibit a certain socio-demographic characteristic (Figures 6.3, 6.4, 6.6, 6.8, 6.10, and 6.12).

Figures 6.2, 6.3, and 6.4 Age, Gender, and Overall Language Use
The correlation between age and OLU is significant at the .01 level.
There is no significant correlation between gender and OLU.



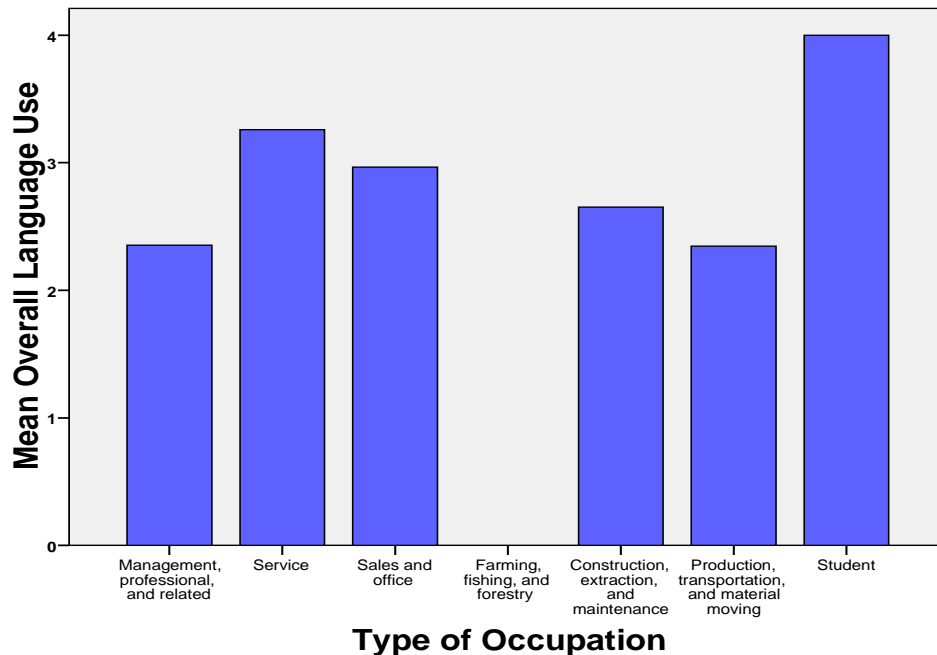
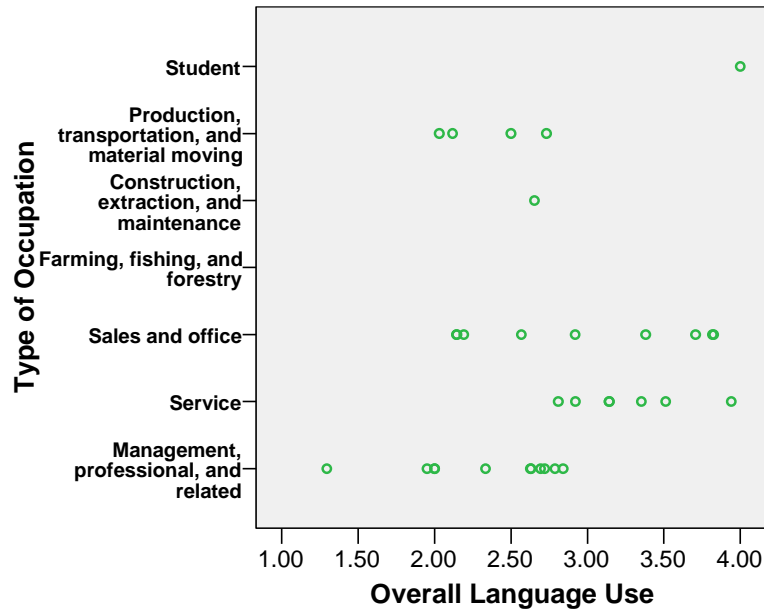


Figures 6.5 and 6.6 Marital Status and Overall Language Use
The correlation between Marital Status and OLU is significant at the .05 level.

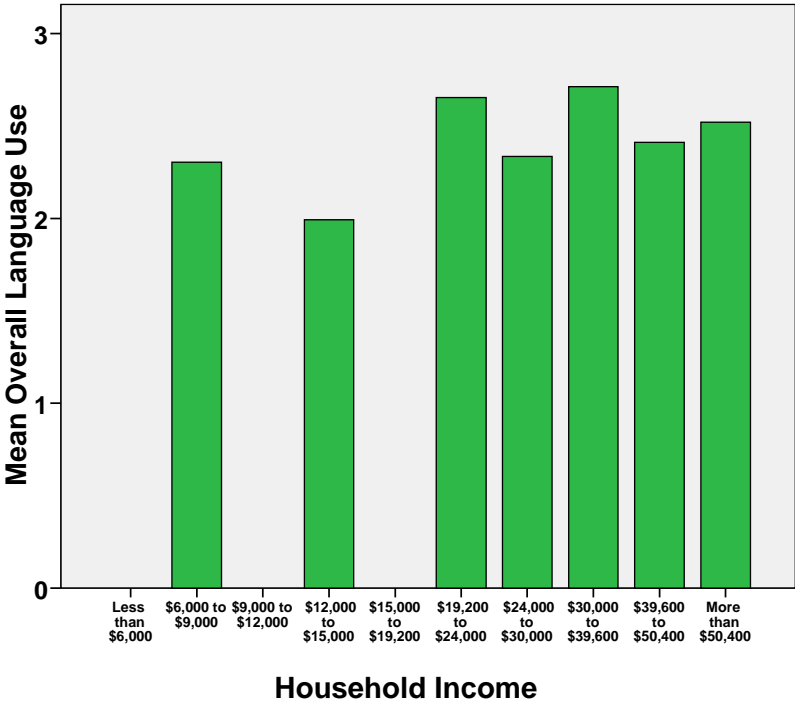
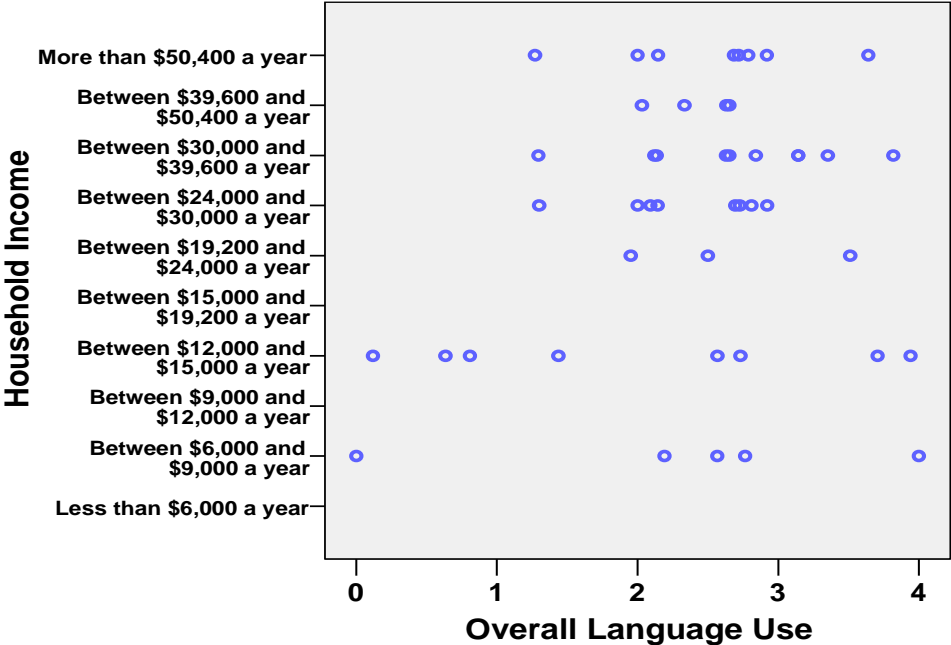


Figures 6.7 and 6.8 Type of Occupation and Overall Language Use

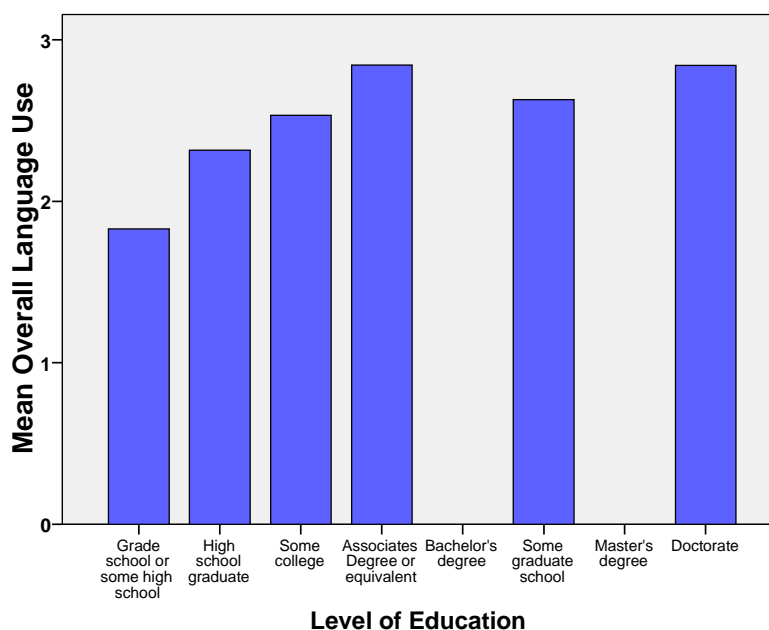
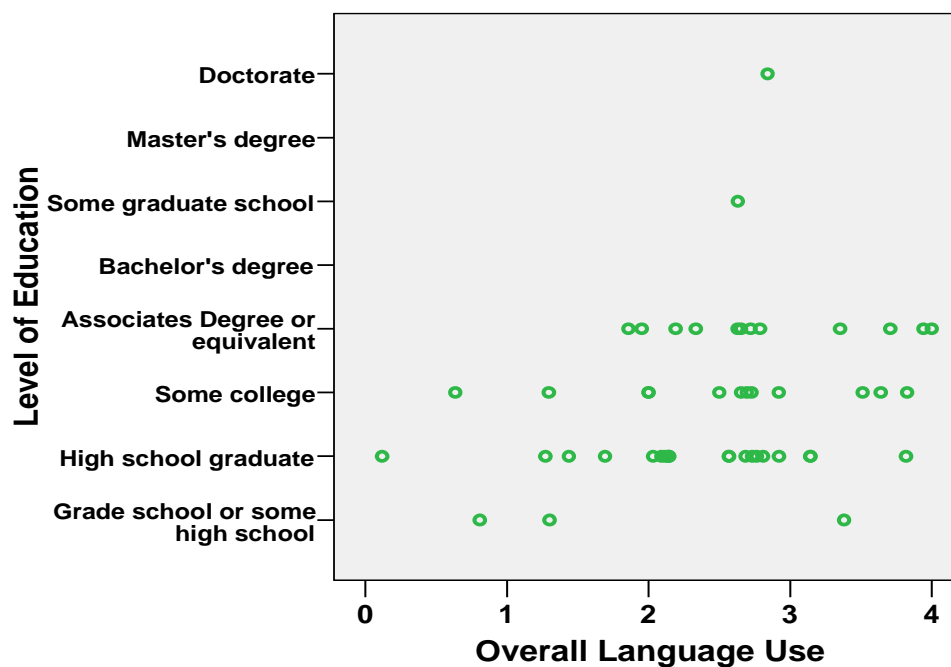
There is no significant correlation between Type of Occupation and OLU. (This is probably due to the uneven number of participants in each group.) However, when Type of Occupation is plotted against OLU we can see that no one in a management, professional or related career claims to use mostly English. On the other hand, no one in a service profession claims to use mostly Spanish.



Figures 6.9 and 6.10 Annual Household Income and Overall Language Use.
There is no significant correlation between Annual Household Income and OLU.



Figures 6.11 and 6.12 Level of Education and Overall Language Use.
There is no significant correlation between Level of Education and OLU.



6.3 Other Patterns of Language Use

The analyses according to domain and socio-demographic characteristics do not exhaust all descriptions of language use within the Lorain Hispanic Community. These methods were used because they can be presented as cohesive frameworks for analyzing language use in a minority language community. Some of the questions included on the survey instrument were not expected to be useful as data for either of these frameworks, yet the responses are still significant in terms of revealing when and why Hispanics in Lorain use Spanish.

For example, Table 6.8 shows that participants prefer English in general for activities that involve reading or writing. This pattern corresponds with responses which show schooling was in English for 68 percent of the sample population (Table 6.9). It also matches the results of the domain analysis which show that English is the primary language in the domain of Education.

Table 6.8 Reading and Writing

	<i>Mean of Sample</i>
Language Used for Leisure Reading	2.82
Language Used for Journaling	2.92
Language Used for Reading Newspapers	3.11
Language Used for Writing Letters or E-mails	3.14
Language Used while on the Internet	3.20

Table 6.9 Language(s) of Schooling

<i>Language Spoken in Grade School/High School</i>	<i>Percent of sample</i>
Spanish	18.0
English	60.0
Spanish though I took English courses	4.0
English though I took Spanish courses	8.0
Both (Bilingual Program)	2.0
Both (Two or more types of schools)	4.0
Subtotal	96.0
Missing Responses	4.0
Total	100.0

Another set of variables likely to affect language use were those expressing whether or not the participant's parents and spouse speak Spanish. Figure 6.12 shows that the first language of both parents was Spanish for 90 percent of the sample population. Of this 90 percent, participants showed OLU rankings which appeared along the entire range of the spectrum from "0=(Almost)

Always Spanish” to “4=(Almost) Always English”. Eight percent of the sample had at least one parent whose first language was English. None of the participants belonging to this eight percent showed an OLU ranking lower than “2.5”. Similarly, all participants who are married to native English speakers ranked above “2.” Those whose spouses were native speakers of both English and Spanish claimed to use Spanish and English relatively equally overall (Figure 6.13).

Figure 6.13 First Language of Parents and Overall Language Use

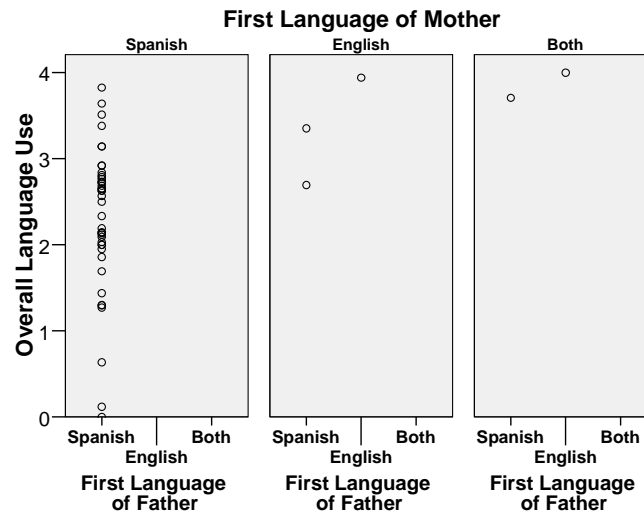


Figure 6.14 First Language of Spouse and Overall Language Use



Finally, attitudes about language affect OLU. Figure 6.14 shows that the more positive a participant's attitude about Spanish in general, the more likely he or she is to use Spanish overall. Attitudes about Spanish in general were calculated by finding the mean of responses to the following three questions when "0=Strongly agree" and "4=Strongly disagree":

Figure 6.15 Attitudes about Spanish and Overall Language Use
The correlation between Attitudes about Spanish and OLU is significant at the .01 level.

7.0 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

curricula) or business trends (bilingual advertising, for example). Language use also has a direct relationship to all other avenues of linguistic research including phonology and dialectology. However, it is important to note that the information provided by the current study is only a “snapshot” of the dynamic process of language contact which continues in Lorain.

7.1 When, Where, and Why Adult Bilinguals Use Spanish

The data for this study reinforce the suggestion that as a minority language loses ground to a dominant language, it becomes increasingly confined to the Family domain. (Fishman 1972). The most Spanish usage was reported in the domain of Family for the analysis of congruent situations as well as the general domain analysis. It is also apparent that primarily English is used in the domains of Education and Employment as other studies of domain predict. It is not clear why participants report certain language choices for incongruent situations. However, this implies that language use in these ambiguous contexts is more likely to be affected by forces that are not easily explained by being assigned to a certain domain.

All means reported as part of the domain analysis were above “2.0.” Consider this number on the 0-4 scale used throughout the study. The means of Overall Language Use for all domains (as well as for all congruent and incongruent situations) rank as either Mostly English or Both Spanish and English equally. This outcome is related to the significant correlation between Age and Language Use (Figure 5.2). Several participants did report using Spanish more than English overall, all of whom were over age forty-six. Many participants reported using English more overall, the majority. This distribution of language use logically produces means ranking between “2.0” (Both Spanish and English Equally) and “3.0” (Mostly English). However, it may also be a clue to understanding the broader picture of Spanish language and its future in Lorain.

7.2 Language Maintenance, Language Shift, and Diglossia

Sociolinguistic research supports two possible descriptions for the state of language in Lorain: Language Shift and Diglossia. The data presented here show that, in general, younger members of the community prefer English while older members of the community prefer Spanish. This is an indication that a language shift toward the dominant language of English is taking place.

While presenting research on language use in Austria, Gal (1979) describes the relationship between language choice and language shift:

The present differences in language choice between speakers of different ages are a reflection of change over time—of language shift in progress. And language shift shares the characteristics of other kinds of linguistic change: it arises out of synchronic heterogeneity; it is quantitative before it becomes categorical; and it is closely linked to broad social changes through the changing self-identification of speakers and through the changing association of some linguistic forms with prestigious and others with stigmatized social groups (p. 153).

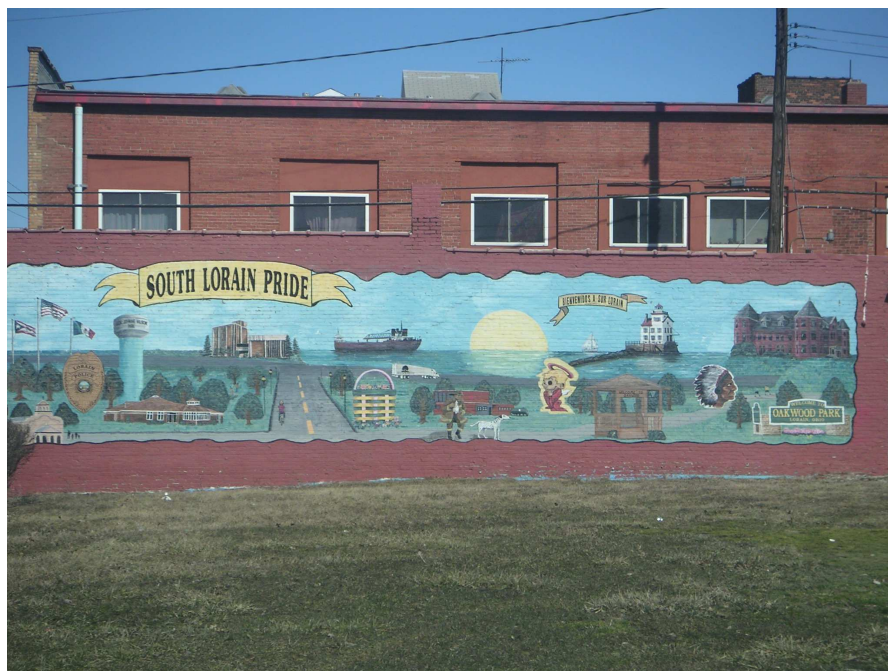
Accepting the fact that Lorain is experiencing a language shift does not mean assuming that Spanish will completely disappear. It is possible that Spanish language use will plateau into a stable state of diglossia in which one language variety is used for formal education and for most written and formal spoken occasions while a different variety is used in situations of intimacy, solidarity, and informality (Fishman, 1972). Greenfield (1979) concluded that a community of bilingual Puerto Rican adolescents in New York City fit the model of a diglossic situation because subjects showed a greater preference for Spanish in situations related to intimacy than for those related to status.

The situation in Lorain offers sociologists and linguists alike an opportunity to witness the curious adaptation of a culturally and linguistically displaced community. In order to assess just where Lorain fits in the wide and intriguing spectrum of language contact and change, it will be necessary to conduct future studies focusing on assessing language shift and the possibility of diglossia as well as exploring the subtler phonological, morphological, and lexical changes characterizing Spanish in this fascinating city.

Appendix A: Photos of Lorain



Mural showing the Puerto Rican, United States, and Pan-African flags



“South Lorain Pride” Mural

Appendix A Continued: Photos of Lorain



The Steel Plant



The National Tube Company Building

Appendix B: The Questionnaire (English version)

QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of this questionnaire is to collect information about the use of Spanish in Lorain, OH. This questionnaire is anonymous, and your participation in this study is completely voluntary. Feel free to skip any questions that do not apply to you or that you prefer not to answer. Answering the following questions will take 15-20 minutes.

Part I.

1. Age: _____ 2. Gender (Circle one): M F

3. Marital Status (Circle one): Single Married Divorced Separated Other

4. Please mark any and all of the following that you consider yourself to be:

____ Hispanic/Latin@/Chicano ____ Asian/Pacific Islander ____ American Indian

____ Black/African American ____ White Other (please specify): _____

5. Place of birth: _____

6. Please list the places where you have lived (feel free to be as specific as you like):

YEAR(S)

COUNTRY

STATE/PROVINCE

Example:

1984-1996	USA	California (Los Angeles, San Diego)
-----------	-----	-------------------------------------

7. City or Town where you currently live: _____

8. What is your occupation? _____

9. a) How many people live at your current household? _____

b) What are their relationships to you (mother, nephew, etc.) _____

10. Please estimate your total household income (includes salaries, business benefits, pensions, family assistance, child support, etc.):

- ☐ a. Less than \$500 a month (Less than \$6,000 a year)
- ☐ b. Between \$500 and \$750 a month (Between \$6,000 and \$9,000 a year)
- ☐ c. Between \$750 and \$1000 a month (Between \$9,000 and \$12,000 a year)
- ☐ d. Between \$1,000 and \$1,250 a month (Between \$12,000 and \$15,000 a year)
- ☐ e. Between \$1,250 and \$1,600 a month (Between \$15,000 and \$19,200 a year)
- ☐ f. Between \$1,600 and \$2,000 a month (Between \$19,200 and \$24,000 a year)
- ☐ g. Between \$2,000 and \$2,500 a month (Between \$24,000 and \$30,000 a year)
- ☐ h. Between \$2,500 and \$3,300 a month (Between \$30,000 and \$39,600 a year)
- ☐ i. Between \$3,300 and \$4,200 a month (Between \$39,600 and \$50,400 a year)
- ☐ j. More than \$4,200 a month (\$50,400 a year)

11. Including you, how many people are supported by the above income? _____

12. What is your highest level of education? (Choose one)

- ☐ a. Grade school or some high school
- ☐ b. High school graduate
- ☐ c. Some college
- ☐ d. Associates degree or equivalent
- ☐ e. Bachelor's degree
- ☐ f. Some graduate school
- ☐ g. Master's degree
- ☐ h. Doctorate

Part II.

13. What language was spoken in the home in which you grew up?

- ☐ a. Spanish only
- ☐ b. Mostly Spanish
- ☐ c. Spanish and English equally
- ☐ d. Mostly English
- ☐ e. English only
- ☐ f. None of the above best describe my experience

14. Which was the **first language of your mother or primary female caretaker?**

☐ Spanish ☐ English ☐ Both ☐ Don't know Other (please specify): _____

15. Which was the **first language of your father or primary male caretaker?**

☐ Spanish ☐ English ☐ Both ☐ Don't know Other (please specify): _____

16. Which was the **first** language of your spouse?

___Spanish ___English ___Both ___I am unmarried Other (please specify): ___

17. Which language did you **first** learn?

___Spanish ___English ___Both Other (please specify): _____

18. As a second language, I learned (*skip if you learned Spanish and English from birth*):

___Spanish ___English Other (please specify): _____

a) I began to learn this language at age: _____

b) I learned this language **primarily** from (choose one): ___Parents ___Siblings

___Grandparents ___Schooling ___Friends Other (please specify): _____

19. What language was spoken at the schools you attended (grade school/high school)?

___Spanish ___English ___English, though I took Spanish courses

___Spanish, though I took English courses ___Both (It was a bilingual program)

___Both (I attended two or more different types of schools)

20. Did you continue second language instruction at a college or university?

___Yes

___No

___I did not attend college

21. How would you evaluate your proficiency in the following?

	Poor	Fair	Average	Good	Native
reading Spanish					
writing Spanish					
speaking Spanish					
understanding spoken Spanish					
reading English					
writing English					
speaking English					
understanding spoken English					

Part III.

Please mark the column that best describes your language use in the following situations. If the situation does not apply to you, leave it blank.

Situation	(Almost) Always Spanish	Mostly Spanish	Both equally	Mostly English	(Almost) Always English
At home					
Outside of my home					
At work					
At school					
At church					
At a friend's home					
While out shopping					
With my spouse					
With my children					
With my parents					
With my grandparents					
With my grandchildren					
With my siblings					
With my neighbors					
With store employees					
With teachers					
With classmates					
With my priest or pastor					
With my boss					
With co-workers					
With close friends					
With strangers					
With my pet(s)					
With myself					
With God					
Watching television					
Reading the newspaper					
Reading for leisure					
Keeping a journal					
Writing letters or e-mails					
Using the internet					
Dreaming					

Part IV. Please mark the column which you believe would best describe your language use in the following situations. If the situation does not apply to you, please choose the answer that you believe would describe your language use if the situation did apply, or you may leave the question blank.

Situation	(Almost) Always Spanish	Mostly Spanish	Both equally	Mostly English	(Almost) Always English
Visiting with your mother, asking her for a recipe					
Scolding your child					
Cleaning your house, discussing buying new furniture with your spouse					
Discussing a personal problem with a bilingual friend in a public place					
Visiting with your grandfather, discussing a story from his childhood					
With your child at the grocery store discussing what kind of food to buy					
Discussing politics while out to eat with some Latino friends					
A meeting with a bilingual co-worker discussing how to approach a new assignment					
At work, talking to your bilingual boss about a big sports game					
Commenting on the weather with your Latino neighbor in your front yard					
Speaking to your spouse about a disagreement you had with your boss					
Giving a Latino stranger on a bus directions to a building					
Chatting online to a bilingual cousin about a television program					
Speaking with a Latino bank employee to make a transaction					
A casual conversation about work or school with your bilingual priest or pastor after a mass or church service					
Chatting with an acquaintance at a Hispanic heritage festival					
Praying with family before dinner					
Asking a bilingual teacher questions about a project after class					
Discussing religion at lunch with a bilingual co-worker					

Part V. Please mark the column that best describes how you feel about the following statements. Skip any question that you prefer not to answer.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Speaking both Spanish and English is an advantage					
I like speaking English					
I like speaking Spanish					
I think it is okay to switch between Spanish and English, even within one conversation					
I think it is important that my community maintain Spanish					
I think it is important that children in my community learn English					
I identify myself with the Spanish language					
I identify myself with the English language					
It is mostly the older members of my community who speak Spanish					
Younger members of my community speak and understand Spanish well					

Thank you for your participation!

Appendix B: The Questionnaire (Spanish version)

CUESTIONARIO

El propósito de este cuestionario es recoger información acerca del uso de español en Lorain, OH. Este cuestionario es anónimo y su participación es completamente voluntaria. Si la pregunta no aplica, usted puede pasar a la próxima pregunta. Contestar las preguntas no tomará más de 15 o 20 minutos.

Sección I.

1. Edad: _____

2. Género (marque uno): M F

3. Situación matrimonial (marque uno): Soltero Casado Divorciado Separado Otro

4. Por favor, marque todas las opciones que usted considere aplicables:

____ Africano Americano/Moreno ____ Asiático/Islas Pacíficas ____ Caucásico/Blanco

____ Indio ____ Hispano/Latino/Chicano Otro (especifique, por favor): _____

5. El lugar en donde nació: _____

6. Por favor, haga una lista de los lugares en donde ha vivido:

AÑO(S)

PAÍS

ESTADO/PROVINCIA

Ejemplo:

1984-1996	EEUU	California (Los Angeles, San Diego)
-----------	------	-------------------------------------

7. El lugar donde vive actualmente: _____

8. ¿Cuál es su ocupación? _____

9. a) ¿Cuántas personas viven en su casa actualmente? _____

b) ¿Qué relación tienen esas personas con usted (madre, sobrino, etc.)? _____

10. Por favor, estime el ingreso mensual (o anual) con que cuenta su familia para el sostenimiento del hogar (incluye todos los ingresos tales como salarios, beneficios de negocios, pensiones, ayuda de familiares, etc.):

- ☐ a. Menos de \$500 mensuales (menos de \$6,000 por año)
- ☐ b. Entre \$500 y \$750 mensuales (entre \$6,000 y \$9,000 por año)
- ☐ c. Entre \$750 y \$1000 mensuales (entre \$9,000 y \$12,000 por año)
- ☐ d. Entre \$1,000 y \$1,250 mensuales (entre \$12,000 y \$15,000 por año)
- ☐ e. Entre \$1,250 y \$1,600 mensuales (entre \$15,000 y \$19,200 por año)
- ☐ f. Entre \$1,600 y \$2,000 mensuales (entre \$19,200 y \$24,000 por año)
- ☐ g. Entre \$2,000 y \$2,500 mensuales (entre \$24,000 y \$30,000 por año)
- ☐ h. Entre \$2,500 y \$3,300 mensuales (entre \$30,000 y \$39,600 por año)
- ☐ i. Entre \$3,300 y \$4,200 mensuales (entre \$39,600 y \$50,400 por año)
- ☐ j. Más de \$4,200 mensuales (más de \$50,400 por año)

11. Incluyendo a usted, ¿cuántas personas dependen del ingreso familiar informado? ____

12. Marque el más alto nivel de estudios formales que ha alcanzado (elija uno):

- ☐ a. La escuela primaria
- ☐ b. La escuela secundaria (equivalente a high school)
- ☐ c. Algunos cursos universitarios
- ☐ d. Escuela técnica terminada (equivalente a Associates degree)
- ☐ e. Diploma universitario (Bachelor's degree)
- ☐ f. Algunos cursos posgraduados
- ☐ g. Maestría
- ☐ h. Doctorado

Sección II.

13. ¿Cuál idioma se usaba en su hogar cuando era un/a niño/a?

- ☐ a. Exclusivamente español
- ☐ b. Mayormente español
- ☐ c. Español y inglés igualmente
- ☐ d. Mayormente Inglés
- ☐ e. Exclusivamente español
- ☐ f. Ninguna de las opciones anteriores describe bien mi experiencia

14. ¿Cuál es el primer idioma/idioma materno de su madre?

☐ Español ☐ Inglés ☐ Ambos ☐ No lo sé Otro (especifique, por favor): ____

15. ¿Cuál es el primer idioma/idioma materno de su padre?

☐ Español ☐ Inglés ☐ Ambos ☐ No lo sé Otro (especifique, por favor): ____

16. ¿Cuál es el primer idioma/idioma materno de su esposo/a?

___Español ___Inglés ___Ambos
___No soy casado/a Otro (especifique, por favor): _____

17. ¿Qué idioma aprendió usted primero?

___Español ___Inglés ___Ambos Otro (especifique, por favor): _____

18. Como segundo idioma, aprendí (*déjelo en blanco si ha sido bilingüe por toda su vida*)

___Español ___Inglés Otro (especifique, por favor): _____

a) Empecé a aprender este idioma cuando tenía la edad de: _____

b) Aprendí este idioma principalmente de (elija uno): ___Padres ___Hermanos

___Abuelos ___Estudios ___Amigos Otro (especifique, por favor): _____

19. ¿Qué idioma se hablaba en las escuelas (primarias, secundarias) a las que asistió?

___Español ___Inglés ___Inglés, pero tomé cursos de español
___Español, pero tomé cursos de inglés ___Ambos (Un programa bilingüe)
___Ambos (Asistí a dos o más diferentes tipos de escuelas)

20. ¿Continuó usted su estudio de un segundo idioma al nivel universitario?

___Sí ___No ___No asistí a una universidad

21. ¿Cómo evaluaría su dominio de las siguientes actividades?

	Malo	Regular	Blen	Muy bien	Nativo
La lectura en español					
La escritura en español					
El habla en español					
La comprensión de español hablado					
La lectura en inglés					
La escritura en inglés					
El habla en inglés					
La comprensión de ingles hablado					

Sección III.

Marque por favor la columna que mejor describe su uso del idioma en las siguientes situaciones. Si no aplica, deje la línea en blanco.

Situación	(Casi) Siempre español	Mayormente español	Ambos idiomas igualmente	Mayormente inglés	(Casi) Siempre inglés
En casa					
Afuera de la casa					
En el trabajo					
En la escuela					
En la iglesia					
En la casa de un amigo					
Al ir a comprar					
Con mi esposo/a					
Con mis niños					
Con mis padres					
Con mis abuelos					
Con mis nietos					
Con mis hermanos					
Con mis vecinos					
Con empleados de una tienda					
Con profesores					
Con compañeros de clase					
Con el sacerdote o pastor					
Con mi jefe					
Con compañeros de trabajo					
Con amigos cercanos					
Con alguien desconocido					
Con mi(s) mascota(s)					
Conmigo mismo/a					
Con Dios					
Al ver la televisión					
Al leer el periódico					
Al leer libros no escolares					
Al escribir en un diario					
Al escribir cartas o e-mails					
Al navegar en Internet					
Al soñar					

Sección IV. Marque por favor la columna que cree mejor describiría su uso del idioma en las siguientes situaciones. Si la situación no aplica, conteste por favor el idioma que cree que usaría si aplicara la situación, o puede dejar la línea en blanco.

Situación	(Casi) Siempre español	Mayormente español	Ambos Idiomas Igualmente	Mayormente español	(Casi) Siempre inglés
Al visitar a su madre y pedirle una receta					
Al regañar a su hijo					
Al limpiar la casa, discutiendo con su esposo la posibilidad de comprar unos muebles nuevos					
Al discutir un asunto personal con un amigo bilingüe, en un lugar público					
Con su abuelo, después de escuchar una de sus historias sobre su niñez					
Con su niño en el supermercado, al discutir qué tipo de comida quieren comprar					
Al discutir temas políticos en un restaurante con unos amigos latinos					
En una reunión con un compañero bilingüe del trabajo, al discutir cómo enfocar una nueva tarea					
En su trabajo, al hablar con su jefe bilingüe sobre un gran partido deportivo					
Al hacer comentarios sobre el tiempo con su vecino latino en frente de su casa					
Al hablar con su esposo sobre un desacuerdo que tuvo con su jefe					
Al indicarle a una persona latina desconocida cómo llegar a un cierto edificio					
Al chatear en línea con su primo bilingüe sobre un programa de la televisión					
Al hablar con un empleado latino del banco para hacer una transacción					

Situación	(Casi) Siempre español	Mayormente español	Ambos idiomas igualmente	Mayormente Inglés	(Casi) Siempre Inglés
Una conversación informal con su sacerdote o pastor bilingüe sobre la escuela o el trabajo, después de misa o del servicio					
Al charlar con un conocido en un festival de la cultura hispana					
Al rezar con su familia antes de comer					
Al preguntarle a un profesor bilingüe sobre un trabajo después de la clase					
Al discutir la religión, almorzando con un compañero bilingüe del trabajo					

Sección V. Marque por favor la columna que mejor describe sus opiniones sobre las siguientes oraciones. Si prefiere no contestar alguna pregunta, la puede dejar en blanco.

	Muy de acuerdo	De acuerdo	Neutral	En desacuerdo	Muy en desacuerdo
Hablar ambos español e inglés es una ventaja					
Me gusta hablar inglés					
Me gusta hablar español					
Para mí es aceptable cambiar entre español y inglés, incluso en la misma conversación					
Para mí es importante mantener el uso del español en mi comunidad					
Para mí es importante que los niños de mi comunidad aprendan inglés					
Me identifico con el idioma español					
Me identifico con el idioma inglés					
Son mayormente los miembros más viejos de mi comunidad quienes hablan español					
Los miembros de mi comunidad más jóvenes hablan y comprenden bien el español					

¡Gracias por su participación!

Appendix D: Chart Showing Coding for Each Item in Part IV of the Questionnaire

Item	Situation	Code	Interlocutor	Setting	Topic
60	Visiting with your mother, asking her for a recipe	C.2.2	Family		Family
61	Scolding your child	C.2.2	Family		Family
62	Cleaning your house, discussing buying new furniture with your spouse	C.3.3	Family	Family	Family
63	Discussing a personal problem with a bilingual friend in a Marketplace place	E (B)	Friendship	Not typical of an established domain	Not typical of an established domain
64	Visiting with your grandfather, discussing a story from his childhood	C.2.2	Family		Family
65	With your child at the grocery store discussing what kind of food to buy	I.3.2	Family	Marketplace	Marketplace
66	Discussing politics while out to eat with some Latino friends	E (L)	Friendship	Marketplace	Not typical of an established domain
67	A meeting with a bilingual co-worker discussing how to approach a new assignment	C.3.3 (B)	Employment	Employment	Employment
68	At work, talking to your bilingual boss about a big sports game	I.3.2 (B)	Employment	Employment	Friendship
69	Commenting on the weather with your Latino neighbor in your front yard	I.3.2	Friendship	Family	Friendship
70	Speaking to your spouse about a disagreement you had with your boss	I.3.2	Family	Family	Employment

71	Giving a Latino stranger on a bus directions to a building	C.3.3	Not typical of an established domain	Not typical of an established domain	Not typical of an established domain
72	Chatting online to a bilingual cousin about a television program	E (B)	Family	Not typical of an established domain	Not typical of an established domain
73	Speaking with a Latino bank employee to make a transaction	C.2.2 (L)	Marketplace		Marketplace
74	A casual conversation about work or school with your bilingual priest or pastor after a mass or church service	I.3.2 (B)	Religion	Religion	Employment/ Education
75	Chatting with an acquaintance at a Hispanic heritage festival	E (L)	Friendship	Not typical of an established domain	
76	Praying with family before dinner	I.3.2	Family	Family	Religion
77	Asking a bilingual teacher questions about a project after class	C.3.3	Education	Education	Education
78	Discussing religion at lunch with a bilingual co-worker	I.3.0	Employment	Marketplace	Religion

References

- American Community Survey. (2005). Retrieved April and May 2007 from U.S. Census Bureau. <http://factfinder.census.gov>.
- Buda, J.K. (1991). Language Choice. *Ostuma Review*. Retrieved May 2007, from <http://www.f.waseda.jp/buda/texts/language.html>.
- Breitborde, L.B. (1983) Levels of Analysis in Sociolinguistic Explanation: Bilingual Code-Switching, Social Relations, and Domain Theory [Electronic Version]. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. (39), 5-43.
- Fenton, M. H. (2000). A History of an Ohio Steeltown from Recession to War. Honors Thesis in History. Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. Retrieved May 2007, from <https://www.lorainpubliclibrary.com/local/history/fenton.asp>.
- Fishman, J. (1971). The Sociology of Language: An Interdisciplinary Social Science Approach to Language in Society. In J. Fishman (Ed.), *Advances in the Sociology of Language: Vol. 1 Basic Concepts, Theories, and Problems: Alternative Approaches* (pp. 217-404). The Hague: Mouton & Co.
- Fishman, J.A. 1972. The Relationship between micro-and macro-sociolinguistics in the study of who speaks what language to whom and when. In J.B. Pride & J. Holmes (Eds). *Sociolinguistics* (pp. 15-32). Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd.
- Gal, S. (1979) *Language Shift: Social Determinants of Linguistic Change in Bilingual Austria*. New York: Academic Press Inc.
- Gonzalez, N. & Whertritt, I. (1990). Spanish language use in West Liberty, Iowa: A pilot study. In J. Bergen (Ed.), *Spanish in the United States: Sociological Issues* (pp. 67-78). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Greenfield, L. (1972). Situational Measures of Normative Language Views in Relation to Person, Place and Topic among Puerto Rican Bilinguals. In J. Fishman (Ed.), *Advances in the Sociology of Language: Vol. 2 Selected Studies and Applications* (pp. 17-49). The Hague: Mouton & Co.
- Hohenthal, A. (1998). English in India: A Study of Language Attitudes. Dissertation in English. University of Turku, Finland. Retrieved November 2006 from <http://www.valo.iki.fi/annika/gradu.pdf>.
- Hudson, R.A. (1996). *Sociolinguistics* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lonely Planet Maps. Retrieved May 2007 from <http://www.lonelyplanet.com>.

- Morgan, T. (2007). *Spanish in Ohio*. Presented at the XXI Conference of Spanish in the U.S., Arlington, Virginia. Retrieved May 2007 from <http://people.cohums.ohio-state.edu/morgan3/OhioSpanish.pdf>.
- Ramos-Pellicia, M. (2004). Language Contact and Dialect Contact: Cross-Generational Phonological Variation in a Puerto Rican Community in the Midwest of the United States. Dissertation in Linguistics. The Ohio State University, Columbus. Retrieved May 2007 from <http://www.ling.ohio-state.edu/publications>.
- Republic Engineered Products History. Retrieved May 2007 from <http://www.republicengineered.com/about-history.php>
- Rivera, E. (2005). La Colonia de Lorain, Ohio. In C.T. Whalen & V. Vázquez-Hernández (Eds.), *The Puerto Rican Diaspora: Historical Perspectives* (pp. 151-173). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Stevens, G. The Social and Demographic Context of Language Use in the United States [Electronic Version]. *American Sociological Review*. 57 (2), 171-185.
- Stone, G.B. (1987). Language Choice among Mexican-American High School Students in Saint Paul, Minnesota: Some Preliminary Findings. In T.A. Morgan, J.F. Lee, & B. Vanpatten (Eds.), *Language and Language Use: Studies in Spanish* (pp. 147-159). Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- U.S. Census. (2000). Retrieved April and May 2007 from U.S. Census Bureau. <http://factfinder.census.gov>.
- Wendell, C. & Granados, M. (2005). In V. Mora, Hispanic/Latin@ Demographic Highlights. ¿Qué Pasa, OSU? Spring 2005 Issue. Retrieved May 2007 from <http://quepasa.osu.edu/issues/sp05/images/demographics.pdf>
- Whalen, C.T. (2005). Colonialism, Citizenship, and the Making of the Puerto Rican Diaspora: An Introduction. In C.T. Whalen & V. Vázquez-Hernández (Eds.), *The Puerto Rican Diaspora: Historical Perspectives* (pp. 1-42). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Yeh, H., Chen, H., & Cheng, Y. (2004). Language Use in Taiwan: Language Proficiency and Domain Analysis [Electronic Version]. *Journal of Taiwan Normal University: Humanities & Social Sciences*. 49 (1), 75-108.

